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War. He volunteered to do the same sort of service for the American forces in France, but his offer was not accepted. In 1906 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for service rendered in composing the war between Russia and Japan, which settlement was ratified in the Treaty of Portsmouth. President Wilson, in his formal proclamation announcing his predecessor's death, said the truth about the most enduring service of the man, when he wrote, "As President he awoke the Nation to the dangers of private control which lurked in our financial systems."

The "Doughboy" and Tomorrow's World

What does the thoughtful man, who was in the ranks, think of the service he, as an American, has rendered to the world by his migration to Europe as a warrior and by his share in defeating Germany and militarism? The following extracts from letters may indicate. Clark Eichelberger, Freeport, Ill., wrote thus to his parents:

"We realize how much of American liberty is due to economic freedom, resulting from our large territory. 'America is living on her principal, Europe on her interest.' Over here we discover other people as liberty-loving as ourselves, and to whom democracy means a greater achievement because of complex problems which we escaped.

"It is not disloyal to give other nations deserved credit. Were a monument erected to the Allies, on which the names were carved in the order of the nations' sacrifices, above them all would be Belgium and Servia. They sacrificed their lives to save the world. But such an admission on our part could not brand us unpatriotic.

"Therefore, we are revising our democratic program to include the co-operation of others. For two generations we have felt a monopoly of liberty. Now France, England, Italy, Belgium, and others, by their immortal struggle, have proved their right to walk with us in search of the Holy Grail of Freedom.

"Oh! America's future is so charged with possibility. The recognized champion of freedom, in the view of the New World, now one of its warriors in the Old, will be a leader in the dawning constructive era. Democracy is now a recognized principle—a recognition bought by the blood of millions. But this democracy, so dearly won, is not developed. Now must come years of contributions to the science of liberty. American genius must furnish many new ideas. If with our broad principles we combine understanding and sympathy for other nations, and are willing to accept their co-operation, the democracy and national spiritual resources we may develop are unlimited.

"I dream of it so much—it is my one mental recreation. The present gloom is penetrated by one light, that America and the whole world shall some day approach an ideal state—the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

"High on a hill across the fields in front of my camp is a great tree, rising many times above the others, so tall it seems to look over all France, the whole world and to touch heaven, communing with God. It seems to speak to me: 'Courage, young man! For two thousand years I have stood here. I have seen flames from Caesar's burning villages; Joan of Arc led an army past me; the thunders of the Revolution stormed about me: All this seems a long time to you. But, no, it is merely the beginning. As each morning the mists rise from this valley between us, so all that has gone before is but the mist rising at the dawn of civilization.'"

August Delp, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, in a letter to the local newspaper, says:

"When we realize that we are not only living history but making it; when we think that right shall triumph over might; when we resolve that democracy shall not be throttled by autocracy, but that even small nations shall be protected in their God-given right of self-determination; when we know that the principles in which our nation was con-

ceived, and to which it was dedicated shall triumph over the tyrant's power of divine right of kings—no sacrifice is too great. When military Germany, by her ruthless warfare, challenged peaceful America in the belief that her divine Kaiser could do no wrong and that the wings of the American eagle had not the strength to journey across the Atlantic to vindicate a wrong if committed, she challenged a foe worthy of her steel—a foe whose very existence was menaced by the obsolete doctrine of divine right of kings.

"The spirit of '76 is prevalent in this new American Army, and we are firmly resolved, even as they were, that the tyrant's yoke shall rest on no people, but that law and justice should prevail, as President Wilson outlined in his fourteen articles of January 8, and also his address of July 4. These noble aims are worthy of the effort and sacrifices that America is making; self-determination, universal disarmament, or at least reduction of armament, a peace league, and a peace tribunal whose authority is respected by all civilized nations."

BOOK REVIEWS

France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915: A Historical Survey of the Principles Underlying the *Entente Cordiale*. By Charles Cestre, *Docteur ès Lettres Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1918. Pp. 350 with index. \$2.50.

Professor Cestre is one of the rapidly increasing group of French scholars who have deemed it necessary to know the literature, political history, and social evolution of the British and American democracies. He has twice visited the United States, once as a student at Harvard, and more recently as an exchange professor from the French universities to Harvard University. On the second visit he also appeared before a large number of educational, civic, and semi-political organizations as an exponent of the "mind of France," and he has now returned to France to assume charge, so it is reported, of the strategically important task of co-ordinating a far more highly organized system of interchange of professors and students between the universities of France and of the United States. He knows the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, and he has studied the university life of the country under its variant forms, the privately endowed and the State-controlled. This prefatory and somewhat personal allusion to the man makes it clear why he has been able to write a book in which Britons, Americans, and the French can find satisfaction. For it is something more than an interpretation by a Bordeaux University professor dealing with the similarities and differences of the evolution of the Gallic and the British-American democracies. The book also is the record of a man of the world who has traveled, seen life at first hand, and come in touch with men of affairs. It is the farthest removed from the pedantic and scholastic type of historical monograph, and it brings the palpitating life of the British and French peoples right down to later stages of the Great War. For the student of international relations not the least valuable portion of the admirably conceived and written narrative is the author's keen analysis of the relative strength of individualism and socialism as working creeds of peoples and of individuals during the last century and during the century that already has seen such unprecedented change. Professor Cestre has the social mind and is champion of an evolving social democratic ideal; but he deals most fairly with the record of individualism and with libertarian activities.

The People's Part In Peace: An Inquiry in the Basis of a Sound Internationalism. By Ordway Tead. Henry Holt & Co., New York City. Pp. 152. 1918. \$1.10 net.

Mr. Tead is a New Englander, with the best traditional training of that region, who is well known in Boston and New York circles as an authority on industrial efficiency and scientific administration of business. He also has keen and intense ethical insight and purpose. In this book he has

written a pioneer work in American peace literature in that he avoids the stock and conventional methods of approach and the incessantly discussed issues of self-determination, territorial re-arrangement, and construction of the juridical framework of a federation of nations, and he turns to other, newer, and as he believes, more important phases of the peace problem. When these are settled and settled right, then he will be more optimistic about the correct settlement of nations' disputes by appeal to international law and to international enforcement of the same.

What are some of the prior and fundamental issues to be met and solved? Control and purchase of raw materials; sale of goods in foreign lands; sale of credit in foreign lands; export of capital for development in foreign lands by foreign capitalists; access to adequate shipping facilities; and movements of population between countries caused by varying living and working standards. Light on several of these crucial issues has been shed during the war by the enforced, co-operative action of the Allied nations; and so conclusive is the evidence calling for retention in times of peace of many of the international, co-operative economic enterprises and international prohibitory injunctions, that Mr. Tead argues for their permanent adoption, in part because of their marked elimination of waste and their reduction of the cost of living to neutrals and belligerents, and also because of their mollifying effect upon national feuds and the economic rivalries of peoples.

In brief the thesis of the book is, that the more rapidly the world internationalizes its banking, industrial and manufacturing activities on the basis of co-operation the less likelihood there will be of racial, religious, and national feuds continuing to bring about war; and still less likely will there be wars that arise from covetousness of territory, goods, and of peoples who may be exploited economically. It is true that Mr. Tead has an excellent chapter on the "Spiritual Guarantees of Peace," in which he writes as "one on the side of the Angels;" but the book will do its best work among the citizens of any and all countries who still think that self-centered, competition is the economic key to national power and fame. Mr. Tead thinks otherwise, and he does so, be it noted, as a student of the technique of business.

The Structure of Lasting Peace: An Inquiry into the Motives of War and Peace. By *Horace Meyer Kallen, Ph. D.* Marshall H. Jones Co., Boston. Pp. 187. \$1.25.

The author of this book is a pragmatist in philosophy, a socialist in his political science, a libertarian and not an authoritarian in his ethics, and he stresses the economic bases of life as do many other men of his years, race, and experiences in the struggle for existence. The academic position he holds at the University of Michigan, the frequency with which he contributes to the *New Republic*, the *Dial*, and the *Nation*—three of the most iconoclastic and least conventional of journals—, and his books are making him a more or less influential person today. Therefore any discussion by him of the topic dealt with in this book has some significance. For he undoubtedly is a typical thinker and writer of a school which is gaining rapidly in prestige among the "intellectuals" of the country. Moreover with shrewd strategy it is getting control of organs of opinion, which, even if they do not reach the many, do shape the ideas and ideals of the influential few.

Summing up the program of this thinker, in his own words, it is as follows: "An international democratic congress, limiting armaments, judging disputes, co-ordinating and harmonizing the great national institutions by means of which men get food and clothing and shelter and health and happiness, making for a free change of all excellence, punishing default with interdict or excommunication or war, resting its authority upon public opinion and strengthening it by internationalized education." When the author of this thought-provoking and fervidly written book is older and has read more history he will gird less than he does now at statesmen, priests, diplomats, and other representatives of an honorable past and a respectable present. Indeed in his saner moments he writes as discriminately as one could wish, and as a man who has read history with some purpose, for, to illustrate, he says (p. 136) that between 1776 and 1787 "the thirteen independent and sovereign States that underwent

the American Revolution were in precisely the same position and confronted precisely the same problems, in principle, as the present States and governments," assembled in Paris to federate the world, do. To the American example he would have Europe, led by President Wilson, turn. And why? Because, as he says, "They won through to a combination of interstate unity with State sovereignty from which we benefit today. And all that amounts to is the equality of States before interstate law. There is far less reason why the peoples and States concerned in the present war should not win through, and by methods analogous or the same, to an analogous end."

James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, and their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations. By *James Brown Scott, President of the American Institute of International Law.* Oxford University Press, New York City. Pp. 99 with appendix.

In 1787 Dr. Benjamin Franklin, writing to a correspondent in Europe relative to the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, in which convention he was a prominent figure, said: "If it succeeds I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the project of Good Henry the 4th into execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republic of all its different States and Kingdoms by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile."

The Conference of Nations assembled in Paris at the present hour is one that, if wisely controlled by sagacious men who are willing to follow the course of compromise and pragmatism followed by the makers of the American republic's Constitution, may bring into being a society of nations on the federal plan like unto that foreseen and desired by Franklin.

The merit of this book by Mr. Scott is that he singles out from Madison's unique and priceless report of the making of the Constitution and from subsequent decisions of Federal and State courts interpreting the Constitution, precisely those facts and those dicta which will prove serviceable at Paris to any statesmen and peace commissioners who may seriously consider casting their influence in favor of a society of nations. From the records Mr. Scott shows how skillfully and, as events have proved, how permanently provision was made in 1787 for reconciling the not unnatural rival claims of the large and the small States; how carefully the provision respecting federal sovereignty over the claim of State was framed in order to facilitate equity between the States and make final and effective a decision of the federal tribunal without resort to force or war; and how soon and sensibly a way was found to make justiciable even political questions arising between States.

Inasmuch as these are assumed to be and, in fact, are precisely the gravest obstacles that jurists and commissioners will face at Paris in constructing the framework of any federalized society of nations, it requires no further statement here to indicate the timeliness of this monograph. It will aid any person who directly or indirectly may shape the outcome of the negotiations at Paris or ratification of the same in countries—as in the United States—where the work of the makers of national or international compacts has to win formal approval of the people's representatives in the Senate. No one can read this record of the service rendered by Madison as a constructive statesman and as a satisfying reporter of the highest form of statecraft, without recalling the fact that he was a Virginian and a Princeton graduate like unto Woodrow Wilson whose personality, ideas and ideals are to be so influential at the Paris Conference.

Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation. By *A. Maurice Low.* Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Pp. 291. \$2.00 net.

The author of this book has long been stationed in Washington as a journalist dealing with national and international politics. He has seen presidents come and go and parties rise and fall and rise again. To his output as a journalist he has added at least two books indicating that, as an Englishman, he has made thorough study of the psychology, spiritual and ethical ideals and political methods of the people of the United States. Such being the case, it is not at all surprising that this "interpretation" of a man who